J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **34**, 775–805 © 2002 Cambridge University Press
DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X02006557 Printed in the United Kingdom

'Padres de la Patria' and the Ancestral Past: Commemorations of Independence in Nineteenth-Century Spanish America*

REBECCA EARLE

Abstract. This article examines the civic festivals held in nineteenth-century Spanish America to commemorate independence from Spain. Through such festivals political leaders hoped, in Hobsbawm's words, 'to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past'. But when did the 'past' begin? If in nineteenth-century France the French Revolution was the time of *history*, in Spanish America there was no consensus on when history began. The debates about national origins embedded within the nineteenth-century civic festival not only suggest how political elites viewed their *Patrias* but also shed light on the position of indigenous culture (usually separated hygienically from indigenous peoples themselves) within the developing national histories of post-independence Spanish America.

In 1894 an unusual debate took place among Mexico City's leading newspapers, prompted by an article written by Francisco Cosmes for the independence day celebrations of that year. Cosmes' article was titled 'To Whom Do We Owe the Fatherland?', and it was his answer that proved provocative. Mexico's true father, Cosmes proclaimed proudly, was none other than the conquistador Hernán Cortés: 'The *Patria* [fatherland] was born, not in 1810, not in 1821, but on the day that Cortés, its true father, established the foundations of Mexican nationality'.[1] To this assault on Miguel Hidalgo's (and Agustín de Iturbide's) status as 'founding fathers', Cosmes appended an extended attack on those misguided individuals who believed:

> that the Mexico of today – that is, a society that speaks Spanish, is civilised along European lines, and keeps the Indian firmly under foot – was conquered by Cortés

Rebecca Earle is a Lecturer in the Department of History at the University of Warwick.

* Many thanks to Guy Thomson and Tony McFarlane for their help and advice, to Douglass Sullivan-Gonzalez for drawing my attention to the richness of Guatemalan independence day speeches, to Alvaro Fernandez Bravo for allowing me to cite from his current research, and to the staff of the Rare Books and Manuscripts Room at the Nettie Lee Benson Library of the University of Texas at Austin. I would also like to thank the Leverhulme Trust and the Arts and Humanities Research Board for their financial support.

1 'Observador' (Francisco Cosmes), '¿A quién debemos tener patria?,' *El Partido Liberal*, Mexico, 15 Sept. 1894.

and dominated by the viceroys, and that independence was a vindication of the rights of that nation defeated by the Spanish. Even today there are persons of good faith who, like modern-day Calipsos, are inconsolable because Cuauhtémoc's feet were burned.[2]

The version of national history ridiculed here by Cosmes will remind readers of contemporary Mexico, where even today Spaniards are occasionally vituperated as the torturers of the Aztec prince Cuauhtémoc, whose sufferings at the hands of Hernán Cortés are sanctified in the monumental murals of the capital's Palacio de Bellas Artes. Cosmes, however, had little time for glorifications of the Aztecs. Mexico's civilisation, he announced, was Spanish, 'owing nothing to the Aztecs, not even descending from them'. Here, then, was a challenge: a defence of Mexico's Spanish heritage, to the entire exclusion of any indigenous legacy whatsoever. In his essay Cosmes rejected the reigning Díaz regime's concept of *historia patria*, which interpreted Mexican history as a process of slow and continuous development from the Aztecs to the present.[3]

The response to Cosmes' provocation was not long in coming. Predictably, conservative newspapers were delighted that a liberal journal should see fit to endorse views they had been advocating for decades. This was the first time, proclaimed the conservative *Voz de México*, that a liberal writer 'had given voice to his race, to the glory of his race, to the history of his race'. They were particularly pleased with Cosmes' attack on those who saw independence as a vindication of the Aztec empire; patriotism, they felt, had at last 'abandon[ed] the enchilada stall in favour of the church'.[4] It was high time, in their view, that Mexico stopped trying to be Indian and accepted its Christian identity.

Liberal newspapers, on the other hand, were scandalised. *El Siglo XIX*, the most influential liberal paper, likened Cosmes' article to the scribblings of the Spanish journalist Adolfo Llanos de Alcaraz, who in past decades had always used the occasion of 16 September to publish 'some article praising the conquistadors, denigrating our heroes, and insulting Mexicans'. Llanos de Alcaraz had been obliged to leave the country, the paper observed suggestively. *El Siglo XIX* noted that the bulk of Cosmes' ire had been directed, not against those who thought Miguel Hidalgo was the '*padre de la patria*', but rather at those who 'committed a grave error in the author's eyes: loving the Indian race'. That, they felt, was the real significance of his extended attack on Aztec

[2] Cuauhtémoc, the last Aztec emperor, was tortured by Hernán Cortés in an attempt to learn the location of his treasure. As regards the sea-nymph Calypso, Cosmes probably had in mind her regret at Ulysses' departure from her island.

[3] See Vicente Riva Palacio, Juan de Dios Arias, Alfredo Chavero, José María Vigil and Julio Zárate, *Resumen integral de México a través de los siglos* [1887–9], 5 vols, (Mexico, 1968); Josefina Vázquez de Knauth, *Nacionalismo y educación en México* (Mexico, 1970); Stacie Widdifield, *The Embodiment of the National in Late Nineteenth Century Mexican Painting* (Tucson, 1996); and Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation* (Berkeley, 1996).

[4] 'Un artículo notable del 'Partido Liberal,' *La Voz de México*, Mexico, 18 Sept. 1894.

civilisation; Cosmes's critique of the Aztecs and those who admired their achievements was a stalking horse to attack those who advocated indigenous rights.[5] Conversely, the paper seemed to imply that a positive attitude toward the pre-Columbian past might in itself constitute 'love for the Indian race'.

The *Monitor Republicano* agreed with Cosmes that Mexican independence was not a vindication of the Aztecs, but was unwilling to endorse his claim that Cortés was the nation's founding father. That opinion, it felt, was 'foolish and unpatriotic'; the correct view was that the arrival of Cortés was part of the slow movement of progress, of which the conquistador himself was unaware.[6] *El Diario del Hogar* in turn maintained that Cortés, far from being Mexico's father, was 'at most our step-father'. In order to verify this position it asked several notable academics to comment on Cosmes' article. Their remarks clarified nothing. The historian Ezequiel Chávez maintained that the true founders of Mexican nationality were the Catholic missionaries who followed in Cortés wake, and also the insurgents of 1810. Justo Sierra offered a convoluted definition of the difference between 'nationality' and 'nation', asserting that Cortés was the 'founder of [Mexican] nationality', while leaving to Hidalgo the honour of being the '*padre de la patria*'.[7]

Cosmes responded to these criticisms by opining that his views were evidently too advanced for their time.[8] Everyone, however, agreed with his claim that in previous decades the celebration of national independence had been highly deficient. The 'invectives against Spain' and the 'typical slogan of "three centuries of odious servitude"' (referring to the colonial period) that had characterised previous celebrations of 16 September were universally rejected as 'savage' and unworthy.[9] Everyone, moreover, accepted without comment Cosmes' framing of the question of Mexico's heritage within the language of paternity. 'Who', they all asked, 'was Mexico's true father?'

It is not coincidental that this debate about Mexico's heritage took place during the celebrations of 16 September, the anniversary of Miguel Hidalgo's 1810 Grito de Dolores that had launched Mexico's war of independence from Spain. Throughout the nineteenth century celebrations of Mexican independence provided an opportunity for debate about the national past. Very often this debate was conducted in genealogical terms similar to those used in September 1894. On these occasions Mexican speakers and writers considered

5 *El Siglo XIX*, Mexico, 20 Sept. 1894. A '*padre de la patria*' is a founding father.

6 Luis del Toro, 'Boletín,' *El Monitor Republicano*, Mexico, 19 Sept. 1894.

7 *El Diario del Hogar*, Mexico, 23 Sept. 1894 and 30 Sept. 1894. See also 20 Sept. 1894.

8 Francisco Cosmes, 'A mis contradictores sobre la cuestión de Cortés,' *El Diario del Hogar*, Mexico, 23 Sept. 1894 (reprinting an article from *El Partido Liberal*).

9 See in particular, 'La nacionalidad mexicana,' *El Diario del Hogar*, Mexico, 30 Sept. 1894 (reprinted from *El Obrero de Pachuca*); and Luis del Toro, 'Boletín,' *El Monitor Republicano*, Mexico, 19 Sept. 1894.

whether they were the sons of Hidalgo, of Cortés, or perhaps of Cuauhtémoc, the last Aztec emperor, whose charred feet, Cosmes claimed, occupied a disproportionate place in the minds of some Mexicans. Similar discussions took place in many other parts of nineteenth-century Spanish America. This article examines the nature and significance of the debates about national origin that occurred around such commemorations during the first hundred years after independence from Spain. These debates reveal clearly the changing position of the pre-Columbian and colonial periods within the idea of the national past. In the speeches delivered by official orators, in newspaper accounts such as those cited above, and in the ceremonial itself we can see the ways in which different aspects of the past were (or were not) incorporated into national history. This not only tells us a great deal about the ways in which the political elite viewed their *Patrias*; it also sheds light on the position of indigenous culture (usually separated hygienically from indigenous peoples themselves) within the developing national histories of nineteenth century Spanish America.

This article forms part of a larger study of national memory in nineteenth century Spanish America which draws not only on civic festivals, but also on such sources as postage stamps and museum exhibits. The conclusions derived from the examination of civic festivals should thus be seen as one element in a larger whole, as one of many possible roads to the same destination. While following this particular route we will have the opportunity to observe some interesting and distinctive features of the landscape that would not be visible from other paths. Civic festivals – the state's commemoration of events deemed of national importance – are occasions on which the state presents an official view of itself. Through civic festivals such as the commemorations of independence from Spain held across nineteenth-century Spanish America, political leaders hoped to create, in Hobsbawm's words, 'a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past.'[10] The difficulty in the case of nineteenth-century Spanish America lay, as the 1894 Cosmes debate suggests, in determining the particular aspect of the past with which continuity was sought. In Spanish America different, and potentially conflicting, heritages jostled for recognition. No single point of origin received unanimous official endorsement. In contrast with France, where virtually all post-revolutionary governments have defined themselves in relation to the French Revolution, in Spanish America there

[10] Eric Hobsbawn, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions,' in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 1. The view that festivals in themselves are significant sites of meaning also owes much to Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution* (Cambridge, MA, 1988).

were competing originary moments, ranging from the distant pre-Columbian past to the break from Spain in the early 1810s, or even to more recent events. If in nineteenth-century France the French Revolution was the 'time of *history*', in Spanish America there was no such consensus on when history began.[11]

*

Civic festivals in independent Spanish America were held to mark many different events, most often military victories.[12] In 1922 Ecuador commemorated the centenary of Antonio José de Sucre's victory over the royalists at the Battle of Pichincha; from 1864 the defeat of the French at Puebla on 5 May 1862 was celebrated in parts of Mexico.[13] Festivals were sometimes held to mark the birth or death of men (almost invariably) whom the state wished to honour. In Venezuela Simón Bolívar's name-day was made into a national holiday under Antonio Guzmán Blanco, a move anticipated by the Bolivian national congress by almost fifty years, which in 1825 made Bolívar's birthday a date of national celebration.[14] The earliest and most long-lived festivals were those held to commemorate the war of independence from Spain. Within a year the 1810 May Revolution in Buenos Aires was being memorialised in a civic festival that became an annual Porteño event. (Outside Buenos Aires 9

[11] For the French Revolution as a time of history, see James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford, 1992), p. 128; and Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge, 1989). See also Pierre Nora (ed.), *Les lieux de mémoire*, 3 vols (Paris, 1984–92).

[12] There is a small but growing historiography on nineteenth-century civic festivals in Spanish America, which concentrates largely on Mexico. See Javier Ocampo, *Las ideas de un día: el pueblo mexicano ante la consumación de su independencia* (Mexico, 1969); Annick Lempérière, 'Los dos centenarios de la independencia mexicana (1910–1921): de la historia patria a la antropología cultural,' *Historia Mexicana*, vol. 45:2 (1990); Georges Lomné, 'Révolution française et rites bolivariens: Examen d'une transposition de la symbolique républicaine,' *Cahiers des Ameriques Latines*, vol. 10 (new series) (1990) – also published in Spanish as 'La Revolución Francesa y la "simbólica" de los ritos bolivarianos,' *Historia Crítica: Revista del Departamento de Historia de la Universidad de los Andes*, vol. 5 (1991); Pedro Enrique Calzadilla, 'El IV centenario en Venezuela y el fin del 'matricidio,' in Luis Cipriano Rodríguez (ed.), *Los grandes períodos y temas de la historia de Venezuela* (*V Centenario*) (Caracas, 1993); Annick Lempérière, 'Nación moderna o república barroca: México-1823–1857,' *Cuadernos de Historia Latinoamericana*, no. 2: *Imaginar la Nación*, François Xavier Guerra and Mónica Quijada (eds.) (1994); Robert Duncan, 'Embracing a Suitable Past: Independence Celebrations under Mexico's Second Empire, 1864–6,' *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 30 (1998); Pedro Enrique Calzadilla, 'El olor de la pólvora. Fiestas patrias, memoria y Nación en la Venezuela guzmancista, 1870–1877,' *Caravelle*, no. 73 (1999); and William Beezley and David Lorey (eds), *Viva Mexico! Viva la Independencia! Celebrations of September 16* (Wilmington, 2000).

[13] Archbishop Manuel María Pólit Laso, *Alocución y auto … con motivo del primer centenario de la batalla de Pichincha* (Quito, 1922); Luis Salgado, *Homenaje a Sucre en el primer centenario de la batalla de Pichincha, 1822–1922* (Quito, 1922); and *Composiciones patrióticas que se leyeron en esta capital para celebrar el segundo aniversario del 5 de mayo de 1862* (Durango, 1864).

[14] Calzadilla, 'El olor de la pólvora,' p. 115; and Session of 8 Aug. 1825, *Libro mayor de sesiones de la Asamblea de Representantes del Alto Perú* (La Paz, 1926), pp. 44–6. The Bolivian decree was to take effect only after Bolívar's death.

July, the date of the Congress of Tucumán's 1816 declaration of independence, became the preferred holiday.)[15] Mexican insurgents declared 16 September a national holiday in 1812, although I have found no record of actual celebration prior to 1825. The definitive triumph of 16 September, the date of Hidalgo's 1810 Grito de Dolores, over 27 September, the date of Iturbide's 1821 entry into Mexico City, as the country's official independence day did not occur until 1857, and throughout the nineteenth century 27 September continued to be celebrated as a secondary (or occasionally primary) holiday by those who preferred to remember the Iturbidista phase of independence. Almost invariably, those who chose to commemorate 27 September were associated with the conservative party.[16] 12 October, the date of Columbus' 1492 arrival in the West Indies, had by the early twentieth century been declared an official holiday in many Spanish American countries, where it was celebrated as the Día de la Raza, in an implicit assertion that the Spanish American 'race' had an Iberian origin.[17] The events commemorated, and the dates on which commemorations were held, in themselves thus reveal much about which aspects of the past were deemed worthy of official recognition.

The nineteenth-century *fiesta cívica* – with its fireworks, raffles, religious services, distributions of alms, and patriotic speeches (the latter often printed in newspapers or in specially-produced commemorative booklets) – drew on several sources of inspiration.[18] First, these festivals continued a colonial

[15] Rómulo Zabala, *Historia de la Pirámide de Mayo*, (Buenos Aires, 1962), 29; *Gazeta Ministerial del Gobierno de Buenos Aires*, Buenos Aires, 24 March 1813; and Alvaro Fernández Bravo, 'Material Memories: Tradition and Amnesia in Two Argentine Museums,' conference paper, 'Iconographies of Power,' Institute of Latin American Studies, London, May 2001.

[16] For an overview of the 16 September/27 September debate, see Edmundo O'Gorman, 'Discurso de Ingreso: Hidalgo en la historia,' *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de Historia*, vol. 23:3 (1964); and Isabel Fernández Tejedo and Carmen Nava Nava, 'Images of Independence in the Nineteenth Century: The *Grito de Dolores*, History and Myth,' in Beezley and Lorey (eds.), *Viva Mexico! Viva la Independencia!*, p. 31. For examples of post-1857 commemorations of 27 Sept., see Manuel Ramírez de Arellano, *Oración cívica en la Alameda de México el día 27 de setiembre* (henceforth set.) *de 1859* (Mexico, 1859); Juan N. Pastor, 'Discurso pronunciado (henceforth pron.) en la Alameda de este capital el día 27 de septiembre (henceforth sept.) de 1863,' *El Pájaro Verde*, Mexico, 30 Sept. 1863; and *El País*, Mexico, 27 Sept. 1900. For the 1825 celebrations in Mexico City see Andrés Pantret, *Alusión al grito de Dolores. Bailes alegóricos*, 16 Sept. 1825 (Mexico, 1825); Juan Wenceslao Barquera, *Oración patriótica*, 16 Sept. 1825 (Mexico, 1825); and 'Función patriótica o gran solemnidad para celebrar el aniversario del glorioso grito de la independencia mexicana,' 1825, Benson Library, Austin, Discursos Cívicos, serv. 2–5, Reel 313.

[17] See Memorandum no. 4 on Día de la Raza, 12 Oct. 1915, Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, Colección Dardo Rocha 3001; and Fredrick Pike, *Hispanismo, 1898–1936: Spanish Conservatives and Liberals and their Relations with Spanish America* (Notre Dame, 1971), p. 173.

[18] Particularly fine collections of Mexican and Guatemalan *discursos cívicos* are preserved in the Nettie Lee Benson Library at the University of Texas at Austin, and the Colección Lafragua of the Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico. A '*fiesta cívica*' is a civic festival, while a '*discurso cívico*' is a patriotic speech delivered at such events.

tradition. Events such as the arrival of a new viceroy or the birth of a Spanish prince were commemorated in the colonies with lavish parades, speeches, and other festivities. In addition to these irregular events, annual festivals such as the parading of the royal flag punctuated the colonial year.[19] During the early republican period, the influence of colonial festive traditions was clearly visible in the newly-created civic festivals. Thus in 1821 many Mexicans swore independence from Spain in front of paintings of King Ferdinand VII, while a decade earlier they might have sworn loyalty in front of an identical image.[20] The influence of the colonial ceremony continued to be felt many years after independence; in 1872 during the celebration of 16 September in one Mexican town, a portrait of Hidalgo was displayed in the same way as a portrait of the king.[21] In independent Honduras the colonial '*paseo del pendón*', the ceremonial parading of the royal standard that commemorated Spanish rule, was replaced by the '*paseo del pabellón nacional*', the parading of the national flag.[22] Through this sort of substitution the republican (or, as in the case of 1821 Mexico, imperial) festival sought to replace the colonial festivals that were abolished across Spanish America in the years following independence.[23]

An equally important influence on republican civic festivals was the calendar of religious festivals such as Corpus Christi, which continued to be celebrated across Spanish America after independence, and which provided a highly visible model of a 'festival' from which Spanish American governments could draw inspiration. In mid-century Mexico republican festivals might coincide with Catholic holidays, much as colonial cathedrals had been superimposed on the ruins of Aztec temples:

> 16 September 1840 ... The streets of La Merced displayed more than the usual number of lanterns in its balconies and doorways, not precisely because that day was the thirtieth anniversary of our independence, but rather because on that same day began the novenary of Our Lady of Mercy.[24]

[19] For discussion of colonial festivals, see the special issue of *The Americas*, vol. 52:3 (1996), dedicated to 'spectacle in colonial Mexico'; Jaime Valenzuela Márquez, 'Rituales y 'fetiches' políticos en Chile colonial: entre el sello de la Audiencia y el pendón del Cabildo,' *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, vol. 56 (1999); and *Caravelle*, no. 73 (1999), devoted to 'la fête en America Latine'.

[20] Ocampo, *Las ideas de un día*, p. 15.

[21] *Programa de la Junta Patriótica para las festividades cívicas de los días 15 y 16 de set. de 1872* (San Luis Potosí, 1872). Or see Sergio Alejandro Cañedo Gamboa, 'The First Independence Celebrations in San Luis Potosí, 1824–1847' in Beezley and Lorey (eds.), *Viva Mexico! Viva la Independencia!*, p. 80; and Lempérière, 'Nación moderna o república barroca,' p. 160.

[22] 'Las fiestas de septiembre,' *Gaceta de Honduras*, 15 Oct. 1877, in Ramón Rosa, *Oro de Honduras: Antología*, (Tegucigalpa, 1993), pp. 277–8.

[23] For such abolition see, for example, Peruvian legislation from 1822 in *Colección Documental de la Independencia del Perú*, (Lima, 1971), tomo 13, vol. 1, pp. 535–8.

[24] José de Cuellar, *Historia de Chucho el ninfo*, cited in Lempérière, 'Nación moderna o república barroca,' p. 159.

The use of religious festivals as a model was sometimes recognised explicitly; in 1839 the government of the ephemeral Estado de los Altos in Guatemala ordered that civic festivals should be celebrated 'in the same fashion as religious holidays'.[25] Out of these different ingredients Spanish American governments constructed events which commemorated neither imperial Spanish rule nor Catholicism. The new civic festivals instead commemorated the *Patria*, through its founding and formative events. The first attempts at establishing the *Patria*'s ancestry took place in the very earliest civic festivals – those held during and immediately after the war of independence.

The Festivals of Independence

The most explicit purpose of civic festivals organised under Spanish rule was the commemoration of Spain and its colonial enterprise. The birth of princes, the coronation of monarchs, and the founding of colonial cities were all marked with parades, fireworks, allegorical floats, speeches and church services. Spain's evangelising mission was applauded in tableaux and parades, which celebrated the arrival of the gospel in the new world. Indians, essential components of this event, were during the eighteenth century incorporated into festivals in order to illustrate the grandeur of Spain's achievement in christianising the Americas. A 1748 '*fiesta de los naturales*' in Lima thus included indigenous figures clothed in feathers who 'celebrated with flutes and whistles their happy subjugation' to Catholicism.[26]

[25] Asamblea Constituyente del Estado de los Altos, 24 Jan. 1839, in Arturo Taracena Arriola, *Invención criolla, sueño ladino, pesadillo indígena: los Altos de Guatemala: de region a estado, 1740–185* (San José, 1997), pp. 237–8. See also General Juan Suárez y Navarro, *Oración cívica pronunciada* (henceforth pron.) *en la capital de México el día 11 de sept. de 1853* (Mexico, 1853). Republican governments would not always have agreed with this assessment of their festivals' ancestry. In Mexico, for example, patriotic orators often traced the origins of civic festivals not to the colonial period, but rather to classical Greece and Rome. See Juan Francisco de Azcarate, *Elogio patriótico*, 16 Sept. 1826 (Mexico, 1826); Juan Wenceslao Barquera, *Discurso patriótico … en el aniversario del primer grito de nuestra independencia solemnizado en la ciudad de Toluca* (Toluca, 1830); José María Heredia, *Discurso pron. en la festividad cívica de Toluca el 16 de set. de 1836* (Mexico, 1836); and José María Revilla y Pedreguera, 'Oración fúnebre pron. en la Alameda de México el día 28 de sept. de 1850,' *Colección: Composiciones en prosa y verso pronunciadas en los gloriosos aniversarios de nuestra independencia el mes de sept. de 1850* (Mexico, 1850).

[26] Karine Périssat, 'Les festivités dynastiques à Lima: la célébration d'une histoire locale,' *Caravelle*, no. 73 (1999), pp. 76–7. Indigenous participation in both civic and religious festivals, and the meaning of such participation, is discussed in Luis Millones, 'The Inka's Mask: Dramatisation of the Past in Indigenous Colonial Processions,' in Penny Dransart (ed.), *Andean Art: Visual Expression and its Relation to Andean Beliefs and Values* (Aldershot, 1995); Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, 1999); David Cahill, 'The Inca and Inca Symbolism in Popular Festive Culture: The Religious Processions of Seventeenth-Century Cuzco,' in Peter Bradley and David Cahill, *Hapsburg Peru: Images, Imagination and Memory* (Liverpool, 2000); and Karine Périssat, 'Los Incas representados (Lima–siglo XVIII): ¿Supervivencia o renacimiento?,' *Revista de*

In addition to celebrating the ongoing colonial relationship between Spain and the Americas, particularly as embodied in the figure of the catechised Indian, colonial festivals might also display signs of incipient creole nationalism through the eulogising of the conquistadors. Civic festivals in early eighteenth-century Lima, for example, made much of 'great Cortés and Pizarro, who exceeded the Romans in service to their kings'.[27] Such comparisons with ancient Rome signalled the existence of an American epic tradition similar to, or indeed greater than, that of European classical antiquity. Colonial festivals thus commemorated both Spanish rule, and, to a less official extent, creole heritage. While the festivals of independence derived aspects of their structure from colonial festivals, their ideological content stood in stark contrast to these colonial celebrations of the conquest and the conquistadors. The nationalist subtext implicit in eighteenth century attempts at creating a local heroic tradition became explicit in early republican festivals, but the heroes had changed. Replacing Spain and the discredited conquistadors were Indians.

Throughout independence-era Spanish America, Indians, or more often allegorical figures representing Indians, were incorporated into insurgent celebrations, in which they played a role entirely different from that in the colonial festival. Instead of commemorating Spain's triumphant victory over paganism, the insurgent Indian emblemised the injustice of colonial rule and the legitimacy of American independence.[28] Thus the 1821 celebrations of the Oath of Independence in Mexico City included tableaux vivants of indigenous figures armed with bows, arrows and the Aztec war axe, or *macana*. In Ayapango 'seven little Indian girls with sword in hand headed the parade'. In San Miguel el Grande (now San Miguel de Allende) the celebratory procession included not only allegorical figures representing fame, but also 200 Indians dressed as Chichimecs, with bows, arrows, and feather head-dresses, carrying flags incongruously adorned with Aztec-style

---

Indias, vol. 60:220 (2000). For a Mexican example, see Nancy Fee, 'La Entrada Angelopolitana: Ritual and Myth in the Viceregal Entry in Puebla de los Angeles,' *The Americas*, vol. 52:3 (1996), p. 288, for Indians being paid four pesos each to participate, dressed as Chichimecs, in a 1640 festival.

[27] Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo, 'Júbilos de Lima y fiestas reales' (1723), cited in Périssat, 'Les festivités dynastiques à Lima,' p. 73. See also pp. 73–6. For a discussion of creole nationalism, see David Brading, *The First America, the Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State, 1492–1867* (Cambridge, 1991); and Anthony Pagden, 'Identity Formation in Spanish America,' in Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (eds.), *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (Princeton, 1987).

[28] For further comment on the Indian as a symbol of American independence, see Rebecca Earle, 'Creole Patriotism and the Myth of the "Loyal Indian",' *Past and Present*, vol. 172 (2001).

hieroglyphs.[29] In Buenos Aires, the 1811 commemoration of the May Revolution featured dancers dressed as 'Spaniards' and 'Americans', the Spaniards wrapped in togas and the Americans 'with coloured feathers at their waist and head like Indians'. One of the 'American' dancers was led away in chains by dancers dressed as soldiers, only to be released later amid general rejoicing.[30] A year later, celebration of the failure of the counter-revolutionary conspiracy led by Álzaga included four children dressed as Indians who 'sang from time to time various songs in harmony'.[31] In Lima, 'the spirit of Peru, represented by the Inca Viracocha garbed in the attributes of the [Inca] empire', accompanied by women dressed as Sun Virgins, marked Bolívar's entry into the city in 1825.[32]

The speeches and commemorative poetry read at such festivals likewise confirmed the importance of the indigenous past as a justification for independence. While the Spanish conquest had earlier manifested the legitimacy of colonial rule, now it became proof of its illegitimacy. Denunciations of the conquest and the suffering it imposed on 'Americans', symbolically represented as Indians, was a frequent element of independence-era festivals. Poetry read at the 1825 celebrations of Bolívar's arrival in Cuzco eulogised Bolívar's entry 'into the court of the Incas … breaking chains/they bore for three hundred years'.[33] Porteño independence was described during the festivities of May 1815 as the recovery of 'ancient rights'. 'We again possess our fecund America, which was taken from our fathers [by the] tyrannical Spanish invasion', announced the creole priest Pedro Ignacio de Castro Barros.[34] In his 1827 oration marking 16 September, the Mexican creole José

[29] Ocampo, *Las ideas de un día*, pp. 15–17.

[30] Zabala, *Historia de la Pirámide de Mayo*, 29.

[31] Tulio Halperín Donghi, *Politics, Economics and Society in Argentina in the Revolutionary Period*, (Cambridge, 1975), 164. See also 'Relación de las fiestas mayas de Buenos Aires en el present año de 1813,' in Augusto E. Mallié (ed.), *La revolución de mayo a través de los impresos de la época, primera serie, 1809–1815*, 6 vols (Buenos Aires, 1965), vol. 2, pp. 233–6; and José Emilio Burucua and Fabián Alejandro Campagne, 'Los países del Cono Sur,' in Antonio Annino, Luis Castro Leiva and François-Xavier Guerra (eds.), *De los imperios a las naciones: Iberoamérica* (Zaragoza, 1994), p. 363.

[32] Lomné, 'Révolution française et rites bolivariens,' pp. 167–9. For more sun virgins, see Blanca Muratorio, 'Images of Indians in the Construction of Ecuadorian Identity at the End of the Nineteenth Century,' in William Beezley and Linda Curcio-Nagy (eds.), *Latin American Popular Culture: An Introduction* (Wilmington, 2000), p. 106.

[33] 'Tercera Corrida de Toros … en obsequio de … Simón Bolívar,' 17 July 1825, in Aurelio Mira Quesada Sosa (ed.), *La poesía de la emancipación*, *Colección Documental de la Independencia del Perú*, tomo XXIV (Lima, 1971), p. 496.

[34] Pedro Ignacio de Castro Barros, 'Oración patriótica … en el solemne 25 de mayo de 1815,' Tucumán, *El clero argentino de 1810 a 1830*, 2 vols (Buenos Aires, 1907), vol. 1, pp. 107–14. Or see Domingo Victorino de Achega, 'Discurso pron. en la catedral de Buenos Aires,' May 1813, in *El clero argentino*, vol. 1, p. 47; and *El Censor*, Buenos Aires, 30 May 1818.

María Tornel likewise denounced the conquest for having disturbed the 'peace of my fathers'.[35] The losses suffered by 'our fathers' the Indians, such speeches implied, were avenged through independence. These festivals thus made clear that the continent's history began prior to the conquest, when its inhabitants had enjoyed the wise and paternal government of the Aztecs, Incas, and Araucanians, the three indigenous groups usually employed in independence-era festivals to represent idyllic pre-conquest America. Until the conquest, explained Estéban Soto in his 1816 speech marking the May Revolution in Buenos Aires, America under the rule of 'the great Motezuma and the celebrated Atahualpa' had been governed by 'its own laws, as wise, politic and orderly as those of Crete, Sparta, Rome and Greece'.[36] In the festivals of the independence era, in contrast with the colonial festival, it was the Aztec and Inca empires, rather than the deeds of the conquistadors, which compared favourably with ancient Greece and Rome. The festivals of the independence era thus differed from those of the colonial period in their distinctive use of the Indian as an emblem of independence, rather than colonialism. They moreover implied that the newly-independent American states could trace their ancestry back to the pre-conquest period, before the defeat of 'our fathers' at the hands of the conquistadors. A bond of metaphorical ancestry united nineteenth-century Spanish America with the continent's pre-conquest civilisations. Spain's role, on the other hand, was entirely negative.

This version of history, which we may call the indianesque, persisted in Mexico for several decades after independence. Its use was particularly associated with the nascent liberal party, although in fact persons of all political persuasions continued to employ aspects of the form for many years to come.[37] In pre-Reform Mexico the view that history began with the Aztecs

[35] José María Tornel, *Oración pron … [el] 16 de sept. de 1827* (Mexico, 1827). Or see Barquera, *Oración patriótica*; and José María Heredia, *Oración pron. en el último aniversario del grito de independencia nacional*, Cuernavaca (Tlalpan, 1828).

[36] Juan Estéban Soto, 'Discurso patriótico,' 25 May 1816, Buenos Aires, *El clero argentino*, vol. 1, 166–7. Or see Fray Pantaleón García, 'Proclama sagrada dicha … el 25 de mayo de 1814,' Córdoba, *El clero argentino*, vol. 1, pp. 91–2; Julián Segundo de Agüero, 'Oración patriótica,' 25 May 1817, Buenos Aires, *El clero argentino*, vol. 1, 181–5; 'Arenga,' Buenos Aires, 25 May 1825, in Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, Colección Sánchez de Bustamante, 3026 (leg. 2), doc. 90; José María Pando, *Elogio patriótico … [pron.] el 16 de sept. de 1827* (Oaxaca, 1827); and Tornel, *Oración pron … [el] 16 de sept. de 1827*.

[37] For example, during Maximilian's occupation of Mexico City, sympathetic journalists described him as the saviour of the 'continent of Anáhuac'. (*Periódico Oficial del Imperio Mexicano*, Mexico, 9 Aug. 1864; Luis Gutiérrez Otero, 'Discurso pron. en la ciudad de Guadalajara … el 16 de set. de 1864,' *Periódico Oficial del Imperio Mexicano*, Mexico, 6 Oct. 1864, for Mexico City as 'Moctezuma's capital'; and Ignacio Michel, *Discurso pron. … el 16 de set. de 1865* (Durango, 1865), for Mexicans as the 'Moctezuma's grandsons'. See also Duncan, 'Embracing a Suitable Past,' pp. 263–4.)

(if not earlier) was frequently advanced in the patriotic speeches delivered at celebrations of 16 September. Liberal use of the indianesque on these occasions contrasts with the lack of interest in the pre-Columbian period displayed by individuals such as José María Luis Mora in their political writings, and suggests that pre-Reform liberals were not as uninterested in the indigenous past as Charles Hale has claimed.[38] At independence-day celebrations liberal orators praised pre-conquest Mexico as a terrestrial paradise:

Hernán Cortés plies the waves in the ship of his ambition, propelled by the winds of his pride, and sights a new world, whose innocent inhabitants until that moment lived peacefully in their dwellings enjoying the finest fruits of the soil. The trees were inhabited by a thousand colourful birds which happily sang out their freedom. The fields were sown with exquisite flowers, which tinted the emerald green with which nature garbed them; their fragrance and odour perfumed the air. The waters that ran in the brooks were crystalline; the lamb enjoyed them without thinking of the Wolf that wished to devour it. Over the roofs of our ancestors' simple dwellings the beautiful sun shone its brilliant rays … And all was happiness![39]

The passing of these great civilisations was presented in independence-day poetry as a tragedy of epic proportions:

¡Xicotel, Teutile, Cualpopoca,
And you, Cuauhtémoc! … Sacred shades!
Where are your sons … ? Where do they dwell? …
Alas, it has all ended … ! Tlaxcala has fallen,
Mexico has succumbed and Zempoala.
Chained are
Beautiful Yucatan and Tabasco,
And the virgin Cuibó whose sands are gold,
And holy Cholula.
Ruin and destruction surrounds all.
Tucapel and Moctezuma are no more.
Dead are Rengo and Colocolo … Now remain
Of that glorious history
Only sad memories.[40]

[38] Charles Hale, *Mexican Liberalism in the Age of Mora, 1821-1853* (New Haven, 1968), 216–21. David Brading likewise implies that the creole patriotism of such well-known independence-era figures as Carlos María de Bustamante was discarded in the decades following independence. See, for example, Brading, *The First America*, 645; and David Brading, *The Origins of Mexican Nationalism* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 74, 88.

[39] José María Brito, *Discurso pron. … el 6 de sept. de 1851* (Mexico, 1851); and *El Universal*, Mexico, 30 Sept. 1851.

[40] 'Canto épico,' in *Poesías cívicas en honor de los aniversarios de la independencia de México* (Mexico?, 1850?). Note the pan-American horizon of this verse, which laments the passing not only of Mexico's precolumbian civilisations, but also the defeat of the Araucanians in Chile. Or see Francisco España, *Poesía recitada en tarde del 17 de sept. de 1850 … en Morelia*, 'A Hidalgo,' in *Composiciones en prosa y verso pronunciados en varios puntos de la república* (Mexico?, 1850?), p. 230.

Orators lamented the defeat by the conquistadors of 'our ancestors the Indians' and continued to decry Spain's 'usurpation' of the Aztec empire and the imposition of three centuries of slavery, as the colonial period was generally described.[41] A number asserted that it was not necessary to elaborate on this theme, as the horrors of the conquest were already sufficiently well known. 'I will not detail the cruelties of our inhumane conquerors because that history is too well known', explained one 1829 speaker.[42] Independence therefore

[41] Francisco Enciso, *Oración cívica … [pron] en la capital … de Oaxaca el 16 de sept. de 1846* (Oaxaca, 1846), p. 5. For Mexico City, see Juan Rodríguez, *Oración patriótica [pron] … el 25 de set. de 1829 en la Alameda de México* (Mexico, 1829); José de Jesús Huerta, *Discurso Patriótico pron. el 4 de octubre de 1833, día en que se solemnizó la fiesta nacional del 16 de set.* (Mexico, 1833); José María Castañeda y Escalada, *Oración cívica … [pron] en la Alameda de la Ciudad Federal … el 16 de sept. de 1834* (Mexico, 1834); Antonio Pacheco Leal, *Discurso pron … en la capital de la República Mexicana el 16 de set. de 1835* (Mexico, 1835); José María Aguilar de Bustamante, *Discurso pron. en la plazuela principal de la Alameda de la capital de la República Mexicana … el 16 de sept. de 1836* (Mexico, 1837); Pantaleón Tovar, *Discurso cívico … [pron.] la noche del 15 de sept. de 1850*, in *Colección: Composiciones en prosa y verso pronunciadas en los gloriosos aniversarios de nuestra independencia el mes de sept. de 1850* (Mexico, 1850), p. 14; Francisco Granados Maldonado, *Elogio fúnebre que en memoria de los héroes de la indepencia mexicana pronunció … en la Alameda de México el día 27 de sept. de 1850*, in *Discursos pronunciados el 27 y 28 de sept. de 1850 en la capital de México* (Mexico?, 1850?), p. 44. For Acapulco, see Manuel Dublan, *Oración patriótica*, Acapulco, 16 Sept. 1831 (Mexico, 1831). For Durango, see José de la Barcena 'Discurso pron. … el día 16 de set. de 1832,' *Aniversario del glorioso grito de libertad lanzado en Dolores el día 16 de sept. de 1810* (Durango, 1832); Pedro José Olvera, *Oración cívica pron. en el palacio de gobierno de Durango el 16 de sept. de 1845* (Victoria de Durango, 1845). For Guadalajara, see Col. Lic. J.J.C., *discurso … en la solemnización del aniversario del glorioso día 16 de set. de 1845 [pron.] en la universidad de este capital* (Guadalajara, 1845), p. 5. For Jalapa, see Ramon M. Terán, *Oración cívica que en la solemnidad del día 16 de set. pronunció en la ciudad de Jalapa* (Jalapa, 1843). For Monterrey, see Luis Gonzaga Martínez, *Discurso patriótico pron. en la plaza principal de la ciudad de Monterrey … el 16 de set. de 1831* (Monterrey, 1831). For Oaxaca, see Genobro Márquez, *Discurso cívico … [pron.] el día 27 de sept. de 1844 … en la capital del departamento de Oaxaca* (Oaxaca, 1844), p. 5; Francisco Rincón, *Arenga cívica que el 16 de sept. de 1845 … pronunció … en la ciudad de Oaxaca* (Oaxaca, 1845). For Orizaba, see Juan Villarello, *Oración cívica que en la solemnidad del 16 de sept. de 1850 pronunció en Orizaba*, in *Composiciones en prosa y verso pronunciados en varios puntos de la república*, p. 62. For Puebla, see Bernardo María del Callejo, *Discurso patriótico que en la plaza principal de la capital de Puebla … pron … el 16 de sept. de 1829* (Puebla, 1829). For San Luis Potosí, see Ygnacio Sepúlveda, *Oración patriótica que en la tarde del día 16 de set. pronunció … en la plaza mayor de la capital del Estado de San Luis Potosí* (San Luis Potosí, 1827); Luis Gonzaga Gordoa, *Discurso patriótico [pron.] en la plaza mayor de San Luis Potosí … el 15 de set. de 1831* (San Luis Potosí); and Cañedo Gamboa, 'The First Independence Celebrations in San Luis Potosí,' Beezley and Lorey (eds.), *Viva Mexico! Viva la Independencia!*, p. 81. For Veracruz, see Juan Soto, *Discurso cívico que para solemnizar el grato día del aniversario de 1837 compuso* (Veracruz, 1837). For Zacatecas, see *Aniversario del glorioso grito de Dolores* (Zacatecas, 1829).

[42] José María Herrera, *Oración patriótica … en la plazuela principal de la alameda de Mexico … 16 de sept. de 1829* (Mexico, 1829), p. 3. Similar sentiments were expressed by Manuel Díaz Mirom, *Discurso que pronunció en el solemne aniversario del glorioso grito de Dolores* (Veracruz, 1842); Terán, *Oración cívica*; José Ignacio Laurenzana, *Oración cívica pron. en el palacio del gobierno de Durango el día 16 de sept. de 1843* (Victoria de Durango, 1843), p. 4; Olvera, *Oración cívica*, 4; and Manuel Gomera y Piña, 'Discurso encomiástico pron. … en el pueblo de Jilotepec la noche del día 15 de sept. de 1850,' in *Composiciones en prosa y verso pronunciados en varios puntos de la república*, p. 13.

avenged the Aztecs; its leaders were 'Mocteuzoma's worthy offspring', 'the sons of Anáhuac'.[43] Similar views were expressed on 15 September, the date chosen to commemorate independence, by patriotic orators in Central America during periods of liberal rule in the 1830s to 1850s.[44]

This was the version of history denounced as 'savage' by the participates in the 1894 debate with which this article began. Insistence on a genealogical link, albeit metaphorical, with the indigenous past, and overt hostility to Spain, the two most striking features of the indianesque *discurso cívico*, had by 1894 been discarded, at least in Mexico, by writers of all political persuasions. If Spanish Americans were not the sons of Montezuma, whose children were they?

Other Ancestors

By the 1840s the different political and economic tendencies arising from independence had solidified into political parties in most parts of Spanish America. Historians have often attempted to map political affiliation onto social, regional or economic categories; Víctor Uribe-Urán, for example, has recently suggested that political affiliation in Colombia reflected disagreements between Bogotanos and provincials.[45] Alongside exploring the evolution of party politics we might also explore how political affiliation correlated with attitudes towards national history. Although as we shall see shortly those associated with liberalism in different Spanish American countries shared no consensus on the question of national origin, conservatives from across Spanish America held nearly identical views on this issue. This meant that the speeches delivered at independence-day celebrations by conservative orators in Mexico closely resembled those delivered by conservatives in Guatemala

[43] Francisco Manuel Sánchez de Tagle and Mariano Elízaga, *Himno cívico* (Mexico, 1827); Luis Guzmán, *Discurso que pronunció en la plaza mayor de San Luis Potosí el 16 de set. de 1828* (San Luis Potosí, 1828); Francisco Manuel Sánchez de Tagle, *Arenga cívica que en el 16 de sept. de 1830 … pronunció … en la plaza mayor de Méjico* (Mexico, 1830); poetry in *Aniversario del glorioso grito de libertad lanzado en Dolores el día 16 de sept. de 1810* (Durango, 1832); Aguilar de Bustamante, *Discurso pron. en la plazuela principal de la Alameda*, p. 11; Olvera, *Oración cívica*, 4; Juan Miguel de Lozada, 'Gloria y libertad,' in *Poesías cívicas en honor de los aniversarios de la independencia de México* (Mexico?, 1850?), p. 5; and 'Himno patriótico,' in *Composiciones en prosa y verso pronunciadoa en varios puntos de la República*, p. 218.

[44] S.D.M.M., *Discurso pron. el 15 de set. de 1847* (San Salvador, 1847); Lorenzo Montúfar y Rivera Maestre, *Discurso escrito por el … XIL aniversario de la independencia, 15 Sept. 1862* (San Salvador, 1862?); and Douglass Sullivan-González, *Piety, Power and Politics: Religion and National Formation in Guatemala, 1821–1871* (Pittsburgh, 1998), p. 62. In Guatemala, during Rafael Carrera's brief rapprochement with the liberals in 1844, patriotic orators adopted the indianesque in their independence day speeches. See Manuel Zacarías Velázquez, *Discurso político-religioso … [pron. el] 15 de set. de 1844* (Guatemala, 1844); and Independence ode, 1844, Benson Library, Taracena Flores Collection.

[45] Víctor Uribe-Urán, *Honorable Lives: Lawyers, Family and Politics in Colombia, 1780–1850* (Pittsburgh, 2000).

and Peru. Rejecting the independence-era idea that their *Patrias* dated back to pre-conquest days, conservative orators used the occasion of the civic festival to suggest that birth, or at least conception, occurred not in the distant pre-Columbian past, but rather in 1492, with Columbus's arrival in the Americas (or possibly a few years later, depending on the speed with which Spain's civilising influence was thought to spread). This was the opinion of the conservative Peruvian priest Bartolomé Herrera, who in his 1846 sermon on Peruvian independence explained that, following Peru's birth at the time of the conquest, it had enjoyed a happy childhood under Spain's maternal care: 'for three centuries the motherland carried us in her arms'. The Republic of Peru was thus 'not conquered but created by the conquest'.[46] Similar views were expressed roughly two decades later in Guatemala by another priest, who, on the occasion of Guatemala's independence day, asserted that during the colonial period the infant America had sat contentedly in the 'Motherland's lap'. Like Herrera, he regarded Colombus's arrival in the Americas as the beginning of history: 'here, gentlemen, is the first day of our appearance in the life of nations'.[47] This was essentially the same view advanced by the *Voz de México* in 1894.

Particularly characteristic of the conservative *discurso cívico* was an extended complaint about the prevalence of the sort of anti-Spanish indianesque speech discussed above. Conservative orators often drew attention to the fact that their speeches would omit inappropriate denunciations of the conquest. 'What good would it do us today to speak of the cruelties of Pizarro and Cortés? To declaim pointlessly, to perorate vainly and needlessly?', asked the Guatemalan José Milla in 1846.[48] In the same year the Mexican conservative Antonio G. del Palacio explained in his 16 September oration: 'Gone are the days in which celebrating independence meant arousing your ire against your fathers, because … why confuse ourselves? Our ancestors are the descendants of the conquistadors'.[49] 'Since we are the offspring of

[46] Bartolomé Herrera, *Sermón pron. … el día 28 de julio de 1846 aniversario de la independencia del Perú* (Lima, 1846) pp. 4, 7, 15–6.

[47] José Antonio Urrutia, *Discurso religioso pron. en la Santa Iglesia Catedral … el 15 de sept. de 1868* (Guatemala, 1868). Or see Jesús Ruelas, 'Discursos pronunciados … la noche del 16 de set. de 1851,' *La Esperanza*, Mexico, 15 Oct. 1851.

[48] José Milla, *Esplicación de algunos de los conceptos contenidos en el discurso pron. en el salón del Supremo Gobierno de Guatemala el 15 de set. de 1846* (Guatemala, 1846). For a later, liberal, comment on the discourses of these years, see Lorenzo Montúfar, *Discurso pron. … el 15 de set. de 1877* (Guatemala, 1877); and Lorenzo Montúfar, 'Discurso,' San José de Costa Rica, 15 Sept. 1870, in *Discursos del Dr. Lorenzo Montúfar*, Rafael Montúfar (ed.) (Guatemala, 1922), 127. For a Mexican example see Estevan Valay de González, 'Discurso pron. el la función cívica del 16 de set. en la villa del Carmen, departamento de Yucatán,' in an 1842 newspaper (title unclear), preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional, Colección Lafragua 137.

[49] Antonio G. del Palacio, *Oración cívica pron. en el palacio del gobierno de Durango … el día 16 de set. de 1846* (Victoria de Durango, 1846), pp. 7–8. Or see Eugenio Vargas, *Discurso pron … en la plaza*

the conquering race, it is ridiculous to place ourselves in the category of the conquered race', remarked another Mexican conservative speaker, in a critique of previous years' *discursos cívicos*.[50]

Conservative speakers thus offered their listeners an alternative ancestry; rather than being the sons of Montezuma or Atahualpa, they were the sons of Spain. In a speech for 16 September 1850 that drew particular praise from conservative newspapers the Mexican poet José Ignacio Esteva praised the conquest for having brought Christianity to Mexico, and for ending Aztec cannibalism and human sacrifice. Refusing to condemn the conquistadors, he proudly proclaimed that 'we are all sons or grandsons of the conquistadors, and our *patria* is likewise the daughter of [Spain]'.[51] Another Mexican orator declared of Spain: 'I love it as the country of my progenitors, as the mother of the Pelayos, Gonzalos and Guzmanes, and I love it too … dare I say it? as the *patria* of Hernán Cortés, that man as great as any who have existed'.[52] The conquistadors, rather than the Indians, were thus 'our ancestors'. Similar views were expressed in 1853 by a conservative orator in San Salvador, who explained that in his speech he would not insult the Spanish as they were 'our fathers' and 'our brothers, to whom El Salvador owed the 'origins of our civilisation'.[53] Since Spanish Americans were Iberia's children, to view Spain with anything other than gratitude and veneration would be to 'spit in the face of our fathers'.[54] Conservatives thus explicitly rejected the idea that they were the descendants of the pre-conquest Indians, and offered instead an alternative, Iberian genealogy.

---

de armas de Toluca el día 27 de set. de 1858 (Toluca, 1858), pp. 6–7; and Joaquin María de Castillo y Lanzas, *Discurso pron. en la Alameda de México el 15 de set. de 1863* (Mexico, 1863), p. 6.

50 P. Ruiz, 'Editorial,' *El Pájaro Verde*, Mexico, 16 Sept. 1863.

51 José Ignacio Esteva, *Discurso pron. en la plaza principal de la H. Veracruz el 16 de sept. de 1850*, in *Composiciones en prosa y verso pronunciadas en varios puntos de la república*, pp. 76–7. See also *El Universal*, Mexico, 30 Sept 1851; José Ignacio Esteva, *Discurso pron. en la plaza principal de la Heróica Ciudad de Veracruz el día 27 de set. de 1853* (Veracruz, 1853); and Vargas, *Discurso pron. … en la plaza de armas de Toluca*, p. 10.

52 Palacio, *Oración cívica*, pp. 7–8. Or see José del Castillo Negrete, *Discurso que en la aniversario de nuestra independencia nacional del día 27 de set. de 1854 pron. en Guadalajara* (Guadalajara, 1854); Pomposo Patiño, *Discurso pron. el día 16 de set. de 1856 en la ciudad de Pachuca* (Puebla, 1856), p. 8; Teofilo Carrasquedo, 'Arenga cívica pron. … en la noche del 26 de set. de 1857, ciudad de San Francisco de la Alta California,' *El Siglo XIX*, Mexico, 11 Nov. 1857; and the pro-Maximilian speeches of: Francisco de Garay y Texada, *Discurso patriótico pron. el día 16 de set. de 1863 en la ciudad de* Toluca (Toluca, 1863); Manuel Fernández de Córdoba, *Discurso pron. en el gran teatro nacional la noche de 15 de set. de 1863* (Mexico, 1863), p. 9; Juan N. Pastor, *Discurso pron. en la Alameda de esta capital el día 27 de set. de 1863* (Mexico, 1863), p. 6; and Ruiz, Editorial, *El Pájaro Verde*, Mexico, 16 Sept. 1863.

53 José Ignacio Zaldaña, *Discurso pron … el 15 de Set. de 1853* (San Salvador, 1853?). See also Manuel Gómez Pedraza, *Oración encomiástica que … dijo el día 16 de set. de 1842* (Mexico, 1842), p. 5; and José Ignacio de Anievas, *Discurso patriótico pron. en la Alameda de México la mañana del 16 de sept. de 1854* (Mexico, 1854).

54 Milla, *Esplicación de algunos de los conceptos*. See also Herrera, *Sermon*, pp. 4, 7, 15–6.

Accompanying such ringing declarations of Spanish ancestry was a defence of the conquest as the source of Spanish American civilisation. The conquest, as one Mexican speaker put it, was a 'progressive movement towards Christianity and civilisation'.[55] Conservatives insisted that Spain's conquest of the Americas was providential; Columbus himself was God's agent: 'Columbus was needed and God sent Columbus', announced Herrera in his 1846 independence day sermon.[56] During the colonial period the Spanish

> transmitted to us their religion, their language, their habits and their customs: they shared with us their knowledge and their industry, their legislation was our legislation, with the modifications required by our circumstances … we must confess that our social order owes everything to Spain.[57]

Indians themselves ought to be grateful to Spain.[58] More dramatically, Mexican conservatives presented independence as the consummation of the conquest. The conquest and independence 'are brothers in one cause: the cause of humanity. Humanity therefore blesses these two events, and I too, who here bless independence, must be just, as I am in my heart: I also bless the conquest', editorialised the conservative paper *El Universal* on 16 September 1851.[59]

Not all conservatives went so far as to describe independence as a continuation of the conquest, but all agreed that independence was compatible with their Spanish, Catholic heritage. In the Guatemala of Rafael Carrera, for example, conservative priests developed an intricate theological justification for independence that presented Central America's 1821 Acta de Independencia as a special covenant between God and Guatemala in which Guatemala promised to preserve its Catholic heritage. This view was expressed par excellence in the patriotic orations delivered by the Guatemalan cleric Juan José de Aycinena in the years between 1837 and 1864. Aycinena and his followers thus interpreted independence as a method of preserving the

[55] Ramírez de Arellano, *Oración cívica en la Alameda de México*, 8. See also Cástulo Barreda, *Oración cívica pron. en la noche del 15 de set. de 1853* (Mexico, 1853); José Sánchez Facio, *Oración cívica pron. en la plaza de armas de la h. ciudad de Veracruz … el 16 de set. de 1854* (Veracruz, 1854); and Ruiz, Editorial, *El Pájaro Verde*, Mexico, 16 Sept. 1863.

[56] Herrera, *Sermon*, pp. 4, 7, 15–6.

[57] Bernardo Piñol, *Discurso pron. en la Santa iglesia catedral el 15 de set. de 1849* (Guatemala, 1849). Or see Manuel Echeverría, *Discurso [pron.] … el 15 de set. de 1844* (Guatemala, 1844).

[58] Sánchez Facio, *Oración cívica*.

[59] This was the view put forward in the Plan de Iguala itself. See Plan de Iguala, 24 Feb. 1821, *Leyes Fundamentales de Mexico, 1808–1985*, Felipe Tena Ramírez (ed.) (Mexico, 1985), p. 114; Rafael Espinosa, *Alocución … [pron. el] 27 de sept. de 1842* (Mexico, 1842), p. 6; Pastor, 'Discurso pron. en la Alameda de este capital; and Manuel Gutiérrez, *Discurso pron. en la vila de Tacubaya el 16 de set. de 1864* (Mexico, 1864), pp. 12–3. The quotation is from *El Universal*, Mexico, 16 Sept. 1851.

faith 'which we inherited from our fathers'.[60] Whether or not independence was seen as a completion of the conquest, conservatives agreed that it was in no way a revival of pre-conquest indigenous empires. This is fortunate, since, had Indians really considered independence a vindication, Spanish America's 'civilised' population would undoubtedly have perished 'at the hands of savage ferocity'.[61] The same thing would probably happen, conservatives predicted, if liberals were to distribute their indianesque *discursos cívicos* to the indigenous population.[62]

These two versions of history – the indianesque and the conservative – accorded the pre-Columbian past very different positions within their regions' history. Advocates of the indianesque embraced pre-conquest history as an essential component of independent identity, while conservatives rejected it as a barbarous time preceding the arrival of true civilisation. Regardless of the position of the pre-Columbian past, however, neither view offered much scope for indigenous participation in the national present. On the contrary, advocates of the indianesque often believed that contemporary Indians had been so debased by the sufferings inflicted on them by the Spanish as to be unable to participate in civic life.[63] The indianesque thus provided a version of history that was simultaneously inclusive and exclusive. By incorporating the indigenous past into the national historical narrative, it valorised pre-Columbian civilisation, while at the same time separating contemporary Indians from a pre-conquest legacy which they were too downtrodden to appreciate or understand. As Enrique Florescano remarked apropos Mexico: 'by integrating indigenous antiquity into the notion of homeland, the Creoles expropriated their own past from the Indians and made of this past a legitimate and prestigious history of the Creole homeland.'[64] The conservative version of history likewise accorded the indigenous population an ambiguous place at the national banquet. If civilisation, and therefore history, had arrived from Spain with the first conquerors, then the pre-Columbian period constituted nothing

[60] Juan José de Aycinena, *Discurso religioso pron. … el 15 de set. de 1855* (Guatemala, 1855). See also Juan José de Aycinena, *Discurso pron. … el 15 de sept. de 1837* (Guatemala, 1837); Francisco de Paula García Peláez, *Discurso pron. el 15 de set. de 1856* (Guatemala, 1856); Juan José de Aycinena, *Discurso religioso pron. … el 15 de sept. de 1858* (Guatemala, 1858); and Juan José de Aycinena, *Discurso religioso pron. … el 15 de sept. de 1864* (Guatemala). For a discussion of Aycinena's idea of covenant, see Sullivan-González, *Piety, Power and Politics*.

[61] Herrera, *Sermon*, pp. 4, 7, 15–16; Pérez-Rayón, 'The Capital Commemorates Independence,' in Beezley and Lorey (eds.), *Viva Mexico! Viva la Independencia!*, p. 155; and *El País*, Mexico, 16 Sept. 1900.

[62] Ruiz, Editorial, *El Pájaro Verde*, Mexico, 16 Sept. 1863.

[63] For a preliminary discussion of this see Earle, 'Creole Patriotism and the Myth of the Loyal Indian'.

[64] Enrique Florescano, *Memory, Myth and Time in Mexico from the Aztecs to Independence* (Austin, 1994), p. 192. Or see Pagden, 'Identity formation,' p. 73.

more than a time of darkness, and was certainly not a source of national identity. On the other hand, since the colonial period was not viewed as three centuries of barbarism, but rather a time of increasing civilisation and gradual improvement, the Indians were not considered to have emerged from it fatally scarred. Indians might thus participate in civic life insofar as they embraced Christianity and the other civilising benefits brought by the Spanish, and provided they renounced the savagery of their pre-conquest ways, a process that, in the view of the Peruvian conservative Ricardo Palma 'will result not from legislation but rather the passage of time'.[65]

The Liberal Search for Origins

In 1888 a discussion took place in Buenos Aires among several of the capital's leading intellectuals about whether to replace the historic Pirámide de Mayo with a new statue. The pyramid, a marble structure erected in what is now the Plaza de Mayo in honour of the 1810 May Revolution, had undergone several face-lifts in the preceding decades, and in 1888 some thought it was due for another. The liberal historian Vicente Fidel López maintained that the existing marble pyramid was a tasteless mishmash unworthy of the heroic event it purported to commemorate. He called for the structure to be replaced by something more elevating. Andrés Lamas, another liberal writer and politician, on the other hand, defended the pyramid as an historic monument which ought to be preserved intact. Discussion of the pyramid led inevitably to a consideration of the meaning of the May Revolution itself. Despite disagreeing about the appropriate fate of the pyramid that commemorated it, both López and Lamas agreed that independence (or more particularly, the May Revolution in Buenos Aires) marked Argentina's 'point of departure, … the first day of its own life, of the national life of the former colony: on this day begins its history, its own exclusive history'.[66]

The idea that 1810 marked the birth of not only the *Patria* but also of history had by the late nineteenth century become standard among the Porteño intelligentsia. The May Revolution was the 'epoch in which we were born into the life of nations', as the historian and sociologist Ernesto Quesada put it in 1895.[67] This view had begun to emerge during the war of independence itself,

[65] Ricardo Palma, *Cartas a Piérola* (*sobre la ocupación chilena de Lima*) [1881], (Lima, 1964), p. 20. See also Mark Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nationmaking in Andean Peru* (Durham, NC, 1997), p. 12.

[66] Andrés Lamas, Essay, 12 Nov. 1883; Andrés Lamas, Essay, 1880s; and Vicente Fidel López to Andrés Lamas(?), Buenos Aires, 30 May 1888; all in Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, Colección Andrés Lamas 2659 (leg. 56).

[67] Ernesto Quesada, 'Alocución patriótica pron. en la fiesta annual del Ateneo,' 25 May 1895 (Buenos Aires, 1895). Or see Nicolas Avellaneda, *Centenario del Congreso de Tucumán, Discurso pron. el día 9 de julio de 1916* (Tucumán, 1916).

but was developed with particular clarity by the Generation of 1837.[68] Members of the Generation of 1837 advanced this interpretation of the May Revolution in many works, such as the large body of commemorative material written for the May festivals held in 1844 during the federalist siege of Montevideo. Unlike their enemy Rosas, these writers stressed that independence was a creative act that brought into existence something entirely new – 'an American idea', as José Rivera Indarte put it, the birth of the *Patria*.[69] The poet Esteban Echeverría expressed this view clearly in his 1844 independence day speech.[70] The May Revolution was, he felt, the triumph of an idea: the idea of democracy. Independence thus resulted from the 'necessary collision between the progressive and democratic idea of the May Revolution, and the retrograde and counter-revolutionary idea of colonialism' (with Rosas, at that moment laying siege to Montevideo, representing the still-living idea of colonialism). Like Indarte he employed religious imagery to describe the idea of *Mayo*. While Indarte had referred to the 'gospel of democracy', Echeverría described *Mayo* as 'a mysterious trinity that becomes one and is incarnate in democracy'.[71] For this reason he viewed the traditional celebrations of May 25 as highly unsatisfactory. 'The homage hitherto rendered to the May Revolution has been more material than moral', he complained. Worse, previous independence-day festivals had a strongly pagan aspect. Echeverría did not specify whether this consisted solely of the intoxicated appreciation of the fireworks and raffles that comprised the 'traditional' May festival, or whether he also regarded as pagan the inclusion of children dressed as Indians; it is tempting to speculate that he had both aspects in mind.[72] In any event,

[68] For an early example see *El Censor*, Buenos Aires, 29 May 1817; and for a useful discussion of the Generation of 1837, see Nicolas Shumway, *The Invention of Argentina* (Berkeley, 1991).

[69] Speech in honour of 25 May, José Rivera Indarte, 1844, in Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, Colección Andrés Lamas 2649 (leg. 46); and José Rivera Indarte, 'Melodias a mayo,' *Cantos a mayo, leidos en la sesión del Instituto Histórico-Geográfico Nacional el 25 de mayo de 1844* (Montevideo, 1844), 59–80. See also Miguel Cané, 'Fiestas mayas,' 1844, in Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, Colección Andrés Lamas 2649 (leg. 46).

[70] Estéban Echeverría, *Mayo y la enseñanza popular en la Plata* (Montevideo, 1845); and Estéban Echeverría, 'El 25 de mayo' (1844), *Cantos a mayo*, p. 16.

[71] See also Juan Bautista Alberdi, 'Dogma de la República Argentina,' in *25 de mayo: testimonios-juicios-documentos* (Buenos Aires, 1968), p. 93. Such mysticism continued to characterise Argentine patriotic discourse. For later examples see Proclama de la Comisión Nacional de la Juventud pro-centenario, Buenos Aires, 1910; Commemorative booklet on centenario del ejército de los Andes (Buenos Aires, 1916); and programme of Comisión Nacional Paso de los Andes, (1916), all in Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, colección Dardo Rocha 3001.

[72] For an evocative account of the plebeian delights of the 1822 fiestas mayas, see Bartolomé Hidalgo, 'Relación que hace el gaucho Ramón Contreras a Jacinto Chano de todo lo que vió en las Fiestas Mayas de Buenos Aires en 1822,' Bartolomé Hidalgo, *Cielitos y diálogos patrióticos* (Buenos Aires, 1967).

the Generation of 1837 rejected the indianesque view of independence as a vindication of the Inca empire: 'The dispute between the Indians and the conquistadors is quite different from that that arose in 1810 between Spaniards and creoles [*españoles europeos y españoles americanos*]', explained Indarte, offering a corrective to the version of history presented in the independence-era Porteño festivals.[73]

If the May Revolution marked the birth of the *Patria*, who were its parents? A poetic answer was provided by Echeverría; the founding father was not one of the heroes of independence such as San Martín, but rather Spain itself. America, he explained, was a 'virgin beloved by the creator'. Spain, 'with lascivious eyes gazed on her beauty … and for three centuries she was his slave'. Echeverría thus converted the conquest into an amorous episode.[74] The fruit of this relationship was the *Patria*: Spain, in the person of the conquistadors, was the father, America, the beautiful slave, the mother. Indians, in this conception, played no active role whatsoever; the procreating force was Spanish. The same idea was expressed even more clearly in another of the poetic outpourings composed for the 1844 Montevideo civic festivals. For extra emphasis its author made Spain both father and mother: 'Our valiant but unjust fathers/Enslaved the Indians … /America in her breast will engender/A hundred Spains who will emulate the deeds/Of their common mother'.[75] Spain, as another writer put it decades later, was their 'loving alma mater'.[76]

The Generation of 1837 thus advanced an interpretation of the past that differed strikingly from the indianesque views propagated in Buenos Aires during the war of independence. Unlike the patriots of 1810, they did not view the May Revolution as the continuation of any previous indigenous empire. May, to them, represented the birth of a democratic idea nourished by its Iberian heritage. Comparable views were advocated in Guatemala during

73 José Rivera Indarte, 'Melodias a mayo,' *Cantos a mayo*, p. 81.

74 This is exactly how the conquest was presented in European painting and poetry of the period. See Jaime Delgado, 'Hernán Cortés en la poesía española de los siglos XVIII y XIX,' *Revista de Indias*, vol. 9 (1948), p. 434; and José Tudela, 'Hernán Cortés en los grabados románticos franceses,' *Revista de Indias*, vol. 9 (1948).

75 Rivera Indarte, 'Melodias a mayo,' pp. 69–70. Even the anti-Spanish Sarmiento acknowledged Spain's paternity (or maternity): 'Spain thus reproduced itself in America: to blame it for having caused intentionally the ills it has bequeathed us would be the same as if a young black man should blame his equally black mother for conceiving the infamous and sinister plan of giving birth to a black'. Indeed, for Sarmiento, Argentina's problems arose precisely because of its Spanish heritage. See in particular Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Review of *Investigaciones sobre el sistema colonial de los españoles* [1844], in Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, *Obras*, vol. 2 (Buenos Aires, 1885), p. 218; and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, *Conflicto y armonía de las razas en América* [1883] (Buenos Aires, 1915), p. 232.

76 Quesada, 'Alocución patriótica pron. en la fiesta anual del Ateneo'; and José E. Uriburu, 'Brindis, *El Mercurio de Valparaíso*, Valparaíso, 22 Sept. 1890.

the period of liberal rule inaugurated in 1871 by Justo Rufino Barrios. In the civic festivals held in Guatemala City to mark 15 September the official orators hailed Iberia as Guatemala's true parent. This view was expressed clearly by the 1885 official orator, who argued that independence completed the creative process begun with the conquest, itself described as an epic struggle between 'the heroic conquered race' and 'the noble lineage of the conquistadors':

> Independence matched the conquest. For this reason the poem of American liberty is the only one worthy to continue the poem of the discovery and colonisation … Columbus, were he alive, would say to Cortés, Pizarro and Balboa, 'I discovered this world so that you could conquer it', and the latter would speak thus to Bolívar: 'we battled with the Indian in order that from his blood and ours would be born sons such as you, to proclaim from the heights of Chimborazo the liberty of America.[77]

Note that the outcome of the encounter between the Indian and the Spaniard is a creole (Simón Bolívar), and not a mestizo. America was thus presented as the creole offspring of two heroic (in this case, masculine) races: the Indian and the Spanish. Other speakers, similarly affirming Guatemala's Hispanic heritage, viewed Spain as a mother. Addressing Spain, the 1897 orator announced: 'today, with the passage of time, which has extinguished ancient hatreds and healed old wounds, we do not hesitate to recognise you as our mother and we Latin Americans can say how much and how truly we love you'. Celebrating independence, he asserted, should not require him to 'hurl a thousand hurtful accusations against the motherland'.[78]

Liberalism in both Argentina and Guatemala thus came to embrace Spain as their nations' historic parent. In Argentina this process was already well under way in the 1840s, at a time when liberals in Central America and Mexico were still denouncing the conquest as a barbarous invasion. Despite the similarity of liberal thought in Argentina, Central America, and Mexico on issues such as the need for foreign immigration, local versions of liberalism differed dramatically in the chronology of their rapprochement with the Spanish past.

[77] Manuel Valle, *Discurso oficial pron. … el 15 de set. de 1885* (Guatemala, 1885). For a similar example from Chile, see Antonio Santibañez Rojas, 'Discurso pron. … a la distribución de premios a los alumnus de las escuelas públicas el 18 de set.,' *El Teléfono*, Melipilla, 23 Sept. 1883.

[78] Enrique Martínez Sobral, *Discurso Oficial*, 15 Sept. 1897 (Guatemala, 1897). See also Eduardo Goez, *Discurso oficial pron. … el 15 de sept. de 1909* (Guatemala, 1909); Virgilio Rodríguez Beteta, *Discurso oficial*, 15 Sept. 1910 (Guatemala, 1910); Federico Vielman, *Discurso pron. en el salón de recepciones del Palacio del Poder Ejecutivo el día 15 de sept. de 1914* (Guatemala, 1914); Ernesto Mencos, *Discurso oficial pron. … el 15 de sept, de 1916* (Guatemala, 1916). For a more critical view of the Spanish parent, see Ramón Salazar, *Discurso pron. … el 15 de sept. de 1881* (Guatemala, 1881) (but see also Rafael Spínola, 'Discurso pron. … en el Instituto Agrícola de Indígena, 15 March 1896,' in Rafael Spínola, *Artículos y discursos* (Guatemala, 1896), pp. 125–40).

In Mexico as in Guatemala, it was only in the 1870s that liberalism began to show a renewed interest in its Iberian heritage, which expressed itself clearly in the civic orations delivered on celebrations of 16 September. The chronology of rapprochement with the Spanish past was thus quite separate from the rapprochement with Spain itself. Mexico, for example, re-established diplomatic links with Spain many decades before it re-established links with its Spanish heritage.[79]

During the early decades of the Mexican Reforma the *discursos cívicos* delivered by radical liberals continued to denounce the suffering inflicted during the colonial period, sometimes with a veiled eroticism similar to that employed by Echeverría.

> Imagine a beautiful woman, her garb in tatters, her face sad, her hair loose, and her head bowed, with her chained hands dripping blood … It is it virgin Anáhuac, young America, the goddess of the New World [who cries] 'free me; I am the slave of the kings of Spain'.[80]

Speakers continued to celebrate the achievements of the Aztecs, but sometimes also criticised Aztec tyranny (other indigenous groups held very little interest for patriotic orators, although one speaker praised the Chichimecs as 'Mexico's Araucanians'). Cuauhtémoc made regular, but not ubiquitous, appearances in patriotic verses dedicated to 16 September.[81] Denunciations of

[79] See Mark Van Aken, *Pan-Hispanism: Its Origins and Development to 1866* (Berkeley, 1959).

[80] Francisco de P. Beltran, 'Discurso pron. … el día 16 de set. de 1862 en Tehuacán,' *El Monitor Republicano*, Mexico, 30 Sept. 1862. See also J. M. Rodríguez Altamirana, *Discurso pron. en el teatro de Iturbide de Querétaro la noche del 15 de set.* (Puebla, 1856), pp. 3–4; Juan N. Mirafuentes, *Discurso para la noche de 15 de set. de 1862* (Mexico, 1862); Luis Pérez Castro, *Arenga cívica pron. … la noche del 15 de set. de 1867 en el teatro de esta ciudad* (Oaxaca, 1867), p. 3; Jacobo Mercado, *Oración cívico pron. el 16 de set. en la plaza de Cartagena de la ciudad de Tacubaya*, in *Discursos cívicos pronunciados en las festividades del 15 y 16 de set. de 1867* (Mexico, 1867), p. 65; Francisco T. Gordillo, *Discurso cívico pron. … en el aniversario de la independencia mexicana la noche del 15 de set. de 1869 en el teatro nacional de esta capital* (Mexico, 1869), p. 4; Benigno Arriaga, 'Discurso,' *Discursos y composiciones poéticas que se leyeron en la festividad de set. del presente año* (San Luis Potosí, 1869); Pedro Sosa y Ortiz, *Discurso pron. … en la plaza de la constitución de San Juan Bautista de Tabasco la tarde del 16 de set. de 1870*, Benson Library, *Discursos Cívicos*, serv. 2–5, Reel 313; Francisco E. Trejo, *Discurso cívico pron. en Colima la noche del 15 de set. de 1872* (Colima, 1872); Manuel M. Palacios, 'Discurso pron. … la noche del 16 de set.,' *Programa de la Junta Patriótica para las festividades cívicas de los días 15 y 16 de set. de 1872* (San Luis Potosí, 1872); and Manuel de Olaguibel and Julian Mantiel y Duarte, *Discurso pron. en la Alameda de México … y prosa leida … en el aniversario del 16 de set. de 1875* (Mexico, 1875), p. 11.

[81] For Cuauhtémoc, see Benito Juárez, *Discurso que … pronunció el día 16 de sept. de 1840* (Oaxaca, 1840); Juan José Baz, *Discurso cívico pron. … en la capital del Estado de Michoacán el día 16 de set. de 1859* (Morelia, 1859); Juan Antonio de la Fuente, *Discurso … para la tarde del 16 de set. de 1860* (Veracruz, 1860); Manuel Azpiroz, *Discurso cívico pron. en la ciudad de Chihuahua el 16 de set. de 1866* (Chihuahua, 1866); Ricardo B. Suárez, *Discurso cívico* (Veracruz, 1867); Pedro Morales, *Discurso que pronunció … la tarde del 16 de set. de 1868* (Monterrey, 1868); Arriaga, 'Discurso'; Francisco Domínguez, *Discurso pron. … en la noche del 15 de set. de 1869* (Colima, 1869?); Gregorio Varela, *Arenga cívica pron. en el portal del palacio del estado de Oaxaca el 16 de set. de 1869*

Spanish rule began to be accompanied, however, not only by calls for the vindication of the Aztecs, but also by assertions of several entirely different heritages. The Aztecs continued to be 'our fathers'; and the insurgents of 1810 remained the 'descendents of Cuauhtémoc', but to this family tree were joined other, newer branches. Mexicans, liberal orators discovered, were also Hidalgo's sons. Sometimes they were the 'sons of Cuauhtémoc and Xicotencal, of Hidalgo and Morelos', and sometimes, in a more streamlined genealogy, simply of Hidalgo. 1810 was thus a date of birth, as well as of rebirth.[82] It was the period of Independence, rather than the age of the Aztecs,

(Oaxaca, 1869); Manuel Leal del Castillo, 'Discurso pron. … en el jardín del cantador de Guanajuato la tarde del 16 de set. de 1870,' *Discursos y poesías patrióticas pronunciados los días 15 y 16 de set. de 1870* (Guanajuanto, 1870); and Josefina García Quintana, *Cuauhtémoc en el siglo XIX* (Mexico, 1977).

For Mexicans as sons of the Aztecs, see Mirafuentes, *Discurso para la noche de 15 de set. de 1862*, p. 4; Andrés Treviño, *Discurso cívico que … pronunció … en la plaza de Hidalgo, el 16 de set. de 1869* (Puerto de Matamoros, 1869); José María Romero, *Discurso cívico pron. … en el teatro Arbeu la noche del 15 de set. de 1875* (Mexico, 1875), p. 3; Francisco Sosa, *Discurso pron. el 16 de set. de 1886* (Mexico, 1886), 5; Beltran, 'Discurso pron. … el día 16 de set. de 1862; Vicente Rodríguez Villanueva, *Arenga popular pron. el día 16 de set. de 1867 … en la ciudad de Cuautla, Morelos*, in *Discursos cívicos pronunciados en las festividades del 15 y 16 de set. de 1867* (Mexico, 1867), p. 78; Eufemio Mendoza, *Discurso cívico pron. … en el teatro Degollado en [el] … aniversario del glorioso grito de la independencia nacional* (Guadalajara, 1868), p. 5; Ignacio Altamirano, *Discurso pron. en la Alameda de México el día 17 del actual*, in *Discursos cívicos pronunciados en las festividades del 15 y 16 de set. de 1867* (Mexico, 1867), p. 53; Francisco Domínguez, *Discurso pron. … en la noche del 15 de set. de 1869* (Colima, 1869?); José de la Luz Palafox, *Discurso cívico que en la solemnidad del 16 de set. pronunció* (Puebla, 1867); and Morales, *Discurso que pronunció … la tarde del 16 de set. de 1868.*

For the Chichimecs, see Eufemio Mendoza, *Discurso cívico pron … en el teatro Degollado en [el] … aniversario del glorioso grito de la independencia nacional* (Guadalajara, 1868), p. 4; and, for the significance of the Araucanians as an insurgent icon, Simon Collier, *Ideas and Politics of Chilean Independence, 1808–1833* (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 194–213.

82 'Sons of Cuauhtémoc and … Hidalgo' is from Jacome Jacome, *Discurso pron. … en el teatro principal la noche del 15 de sbre de 1869* (Puebla, 1869). See also Miguel Gómez Flores, *Discurso cívico pron. la noche del 15 de set. de 1856 … en uno de los teatros de la capital* (Mexico, 1856); Miguel Buenrostro, *Oración patriótica pron. en la Alameda de México … el 16 de set. de 1856* (Puebla, 1856), p. 27; Marcelino Burelo, *Discurso pron. en la plaza de armas de Tabasco … el día 16 des set.* (Puebla, 1856), p. 12; Francisco de P. Campa, 'Discurso,' *Discursos y poesías pronunciados en el coliseo de esta ciudad el 16 de set. del presente año* (Zacatecas, 1857); Ignacio Ramírez, 'Discurso cívico pron. el 16 de set. de 1861'; 'Discurso pron. en el puerto de Mazatlán la tarde de 16 de set. de 1863 en solemnidad de la independencia de México,' and 'Discurso pron. en el Teatro Nacional la noche del 15 de set. de 1867 por encargo de la Junta Patriótica,' all in Ignacio Ramírez, *Obras*, 2 vols, (Mexico, 1966), vol. 1, pp. 136, 152, 158, 177; Ignacio Galindo, *Discurso pron. en la festividad nacional del 16 de set.* (Monterrey, 1867); Francisco Contreras, *Discurso pron. … en el Panteón de San Miguel el 17 de set. de 1869* (Oaxaca, 1869); un alumno del Colegio Mexicano, *Discurso cívico pron … el 15 de set. de 1871* (Mexico, 1871), p. 9; and *El Imparcial*, Mexico, 17 Sept. 1900. This is not to say that no one prior to the Reforma dated the birth of the *patria* to 1810. See, for example, Barquera, *Oración patriótica*; and Luis Rivera Melo, 'Discurso cívico pron. en la Alameda de México el día 16 de sept de 1850,' in *Discursos pronunciados el 16 de sept. de 1850 en la Alameda de México* (Mexico?, 1850?).

which liberal writers began to compare with the great achievements of Greek and Roman antiquity. 'Morelos! Which hero of antiquity would have been greater than Morelos, had he fought with him?', asked one academic orator in 1850s Mexico. 'One day this Iliad will find its Homer!', exclaimed another.[83] In this way Mexican liberals, like the Argentine Generation of 1837, began to describe independence as the time when history began: 'When else should Mexican chronology begin but 16 September 1810?'.[84] It was that view that Francisco Cosmes challenged when he claimed that Mexico's true beginning was in 1492, not 1810. This insurgent genealogy was melded with the older indianesque version through the medium of progress; civic festivals began to present Mexican history as a process of gradual development from the pre-conquest days to the pinnacle of progress achieved under Porfirio Díaz. Together these various stages 'form parts of our grandiose whole', explained General Riva Palacio in 1871.[85] Such a vision of Mexican history was represented symbolically in the floats organised for the 1883 independence-day celebrations in Mexico City, which depicted successive stages of Mexican history, culminating in floats dedicated to progress and industry.[86]

During the *Porfiriato* the conservative appreciation of Mexico's Hispanic heritage began to be incorporated into official liberal ideology alongside these other genealogies. (Reassertions of Mexico's Spanish heritage also drew on the distinction that liberals had for decades been making between the Spain of the conquistadors and modern, liberal Spain.)[87] Independence became simply 'a phase in Spain's historical evolution'. Criticism of the conquest diminished dramatically and patriotic orators at independence day celebrations began to take a new (for Mexican liberals) interest in Spain. 'Oh Mother Spain, your

83 See Juan Jáquez, *Oración cívica pron. en el palacio del gobierno de Durango … el día 16 de sept. de 1850*, in *Composiciones en prosa y verso pronunciados en varios puntos de la república*, p. 157; and J. M. Roa Barcena, *Discurso cívico pron. en Jalapa el 16 de set. de 1848* (Jalapa, 1848). The quotations are from Francisco Granados Maldonado, *Elogio fúnebre que en memoria de los héroes de la independencia mexicana pronunció … en la Alameda de México el día 27 de sept. de 1850*, in *Discursos pronunciados el 27 y 28 de sept. de 1850 en la capital de México* (Mexico?, 1850?), p. 44; and Mendoza, *Discurso cívico pron. … en el teatro Degollado*, p. 9.

84 Atanasio Cañedo, *Discurso cívico … [pron.] en esta capital … el día 16 de sept. de 1843* (Guadalajara, 1843) (for an early assertion of this view). Or see Joaquín M. Alcalde, 'Discurso pron. en el teatro de Iturbide la noche del 15 de set. de 1861,' *Discursos pronunciados en la fiesta cívica del año de 1861 en la capital de la República* (Mexico, 1861).

85 General Riva Palacio, *Discurso pron. … en la capital de la República el 16 de set. de 1871* (Mexico, 1871), p. 8. Or see Manuel Carsi, *Discurso pron. en el gran teatro de Guerrero la noche del 15 de set. de 1885* (Puebla, 1885), p. 9.

86 *16 de set. de 1883: los carros alegóricos*, Benson Library. See also William Beezley, 'New Celebrations of Independence: Puebla (1869) and Mexico City (1883),' in Beezley and Lorey (eds.), *Viva Mexico! Viva la Independencia!*, p. 137.

87 See Juárez, *Discurso que … pronunció el día 16 de sept. de 1840*; Enciso, *Oración cívica*; Daniel Casas, *Discurso cívico pron. en Jalapa el 16 de set. de 1849* (Jalapa, 1849); Fuente, *Discurso … para la tarde del 16 de set. de 1860*; and Morales, *Discurso que pronunció … la tarde del 16 de set. de 1868.*

great shadow is present in all our history; to you we owe civilisation', intoned Justo Sierra in 1883.[88] While in previous decades Mexicans had been told in such speeches that they possessed real or metaphorical indigenous blood, now they were declared the sons of Spain. Mexico's 'religion, language, customs, and indeed the blood that circulates in its veins are unimpeachable witnesses' of Spain's influence, explained another patriotic orator.[89] For this reason the organisers of one festival in 1874 were pleased that the event passed without a single '*muera*' directed at Spain.[90]

The effect of the pan-American liberal rapprochement with Spain was that by the end of the nineteenth century liberal and conservative civic festivals came to resemble each other in terms of their view of the past. In 1892 both conservative Colombia and liberal Guatemala celebrated the quatercentenary of Columbus's arrival in the Americas, an event that marked the start of what in the 1820s had been described in both regions as three centuries of tyranny. To be sure, there were some differences between the celebrations in these two countries. Most notably, the Guatemalan festivities, unlike their Colombian analogue, included a large contingent of Indians, who participated 'on the official order of the national government'.[91] Guatemala's liberal regime had not entirely shed its attachment to the indianesque, which stipulated some sort of indigenous dimension to civic festivals, although the effect of obliging the Maya to celebrate the arrival of Columbus was that the Guatemalan commemoration bore closer resemblance than its organisers perhaps appreciated to a colonial festival, with its catechised Indians celebrating 'with flutes and whistles their happy subjugation'. The republican civic festival had come full circle.

[88] Justo Sierra, 'El Día de la Patria,' 16 Sept. 1883, Justo Sierra, *Obras completas*, vol. 9 (Mexico, 1991), pp. 108–9. Or see Vicente Riva Palacio, *Discurso pron. en las festividades cívicas del 16 de set. de 1867*, in *Discursos cívicos pronunciados en las festividades del 15 y 16 de set. de 1867* (Mexico, 1867), p. 27; Manuel Parada, *Discurso cívico pron. en el teatro nacional … la noche del 15 de set. de 1876* (Mexico, 1876), p. 8; Agustín Verdugo, *Discurso pron. … en la plaza de la constitución el día 16 de set. de 1879* (Mexico, 1879), 11; Sosa, *Discurso pron. el 16 de set. de 1886*, p. 5; Reynaldo Morales, *Discurso patriótico que en conmemoración del LXXVII aniversario del grito de independencia pronunció … en San Luis Potosí* (San Luis Potosí, 1887); Manuel G. Revilla, *Dos discursos cívicos* (Mexico, 1891), p. 9; and Alonso Rodríguez Miramar, *Discurso pron. en el parque de la Alameda de México el 16 de sept. de 1892*, in *Fiestas de septiembre de 1892* (Mexico, 1892), p. 11.

[89] Demetrio Montesdeoca, *Oración cívica pron. … el 16 de set. de 1862 en el salón de la plaza de la constancia* (Guanajuato, 1862?).

[90] *Corona cívica consagrada a la memoria de los héroes de la independencia* (Toluca, 1874).

[91] Frédéric Martinez, 'Como representar a Colombia? De las exposiciones universales a la Exposición del Centenario, 1851–1910,' *Museo, memoria y nación: Misión de los museos nacionales para los ciudadanos del futuro*, Memorias des Simposio Internacional y IV Cátedra Anual de Historia 'Ernesto Tirado Restrepo' (Bogotá, 2000), pp. 325–30; and Antonio Batres Jáuregui, *La América Central ante la historia*, 2 vols (Guatemala, 1915–20), vol. 1, p. 441.

The Centenary of Independence: the Return to the Mother (Land)

The centennial of independence from Spain, celebrated in the years between 1910 and 1924, prompted the formation of many patriotic committees and considerable governmental expense. Naturally, celebration of the heroes of the wars of independence occupied an important position in these commemorations; across Spanish America governments sponsored the publication of eulogising biographies and document collections. In Mexico the Comisión Nacional Centenario organised festivities and sponsored literary and scientific competitions aimed at commemorating independence, while in Argentina an analogous commission considered renaming Tierra del Fuego the 'Territorio de Mayo'.[92] The many lyrics submitted to the Mexican commission's 'Centenary Hymn' competition, which give an excellent snapshot of conventional patriotism in 1910s Mexico, reveal the extent to which the discourse of Porfirian history had penetrated Mexico's population. Of the hundred-odd verses submitted, nearly three-quarters mentioned Hidalgo, a third mentioned Morelos, and a quarter mentioned Juárez. Cuauhtémoc, regarded by some historians as a key figure in Porfirian constructions of the past, was mentioned in a mere nine hymns, although a quarter referred to Mexico poetically as 'Anáhuac'.[93] The general tenor of these songs confirmed the success of the view that Mexicans, as one entrant put it, 'are the sons/of Hidalgo, Juárez and Diaz'.[94] Genealogical metaphors thus continued to dominate expressions of patriotism. The Comisión found all these entries defective in one or another way, but did feel able to select a winner in its competition for a 'Symphonic and Choral Poem' to independence. The successful composer was Manuel Caballero, whose 'Verse and Prose Poem' included a dialogue between '*Patria*', 'History', 'Progress' and 'Caudillo'. The

[92] Comisión Nacional del Centenario, caja 2, and Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes, caja 363; both in Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico; Tenorio Trillo, '1910 Mexico City: Space and Nation in the City of the *Centenario*'; and Proposals of Comisión Pro-Centenario, 1906?, Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, Colección Dardo Rocha 3001. For commemorative volumes, see Manuel Chueco, *La República Argentina en su primer centenario*, 2 vols, (Buenos Aires, 1910); Adolfo León Gómez, *Centenario de la Independencia: el tribuno de 1810* (Bogotá, 1910); Emiliano Isaza and Lorenzo Marroquín (eds.), *Primer centenario de la independencia de Colombia, 1810–1910* (Bogotá, 1911); Eduardo Poirier (ed.), *Chile en 1910: Edición del centenario de la independencia* (Santiago de Chile, 1910); and Luis Urbina, Pedro Henríquez Ureña and Nicolás Rangel (eds.), *Antología del Centenario: Estudio documentado de la literatura mexicana durante el primer siglo de independencia (1800–1821)* (1910) (Mexico, 1985).

[93] *El Himno del Centenario: producciones presentadas al segundo concurso que convocó la Comisión Nacional del Centenario de la Independencia de México* (Mexico, 1910).

[94] *El Himno del Centenario*, entry 14. Many entries to the various competitions are contained in Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, Galeria 5, 'Comisión Nacional del Centenario,' caja 2.

dialogue celebrated Spain ('Honour to Spain who lived within us!') while also making a brief mention of Mexico's Aztec past.[95]

Mexico was not alone in seeing the centenary as an opportunity to commemorate Spain. Across Spanish America these festivals hailed Spain as a historic mother, and included substantial *peninsular* participation. Alfonso XIII's aunt, the Infanta Isabella, headed the official delegation to Argentina, the Marqués de Polavieja led the delegation to Mexico (where he awarded Porfirio Díaz the Order of Charles III), and the grandson of the royalist general Pablo Morillo led the Spanish delegation to Venezuela.[96] The inclusion of a relation of this arch-enemy of Spanish-American independence in the independence-day celebrations suggests the extent to which the discourse of the civic festival had altered over the past century. The Colombian festivities likewise made sure to include no tactless references to royalist wartime atrocities; a commemorative stamp showing six patriots executed by the Spanish in 1816 was withdrawn so as not to offend Spain, and speakers were at pains to ascribe independence to Colombia's 'Iberian element'.[97] Across the continent governments erected statues to Spain, installed commemorative plaques on colonial buildings, and renamed streets in honour of Isabel la Católica.[98] These acts were intended to commemorate 'the origins of the close cordiality that today exists between noble Spain' and the people of the Americas.[99] The colonial period, no longer a time of darkness, was instead hailed as the 'indestructible foundation of our collective existence', the source of civilisation.[100] As a Chilean commemorative volume put it, America was bound to Spain by 'inextinguishable affections, inerasable atavisms and ties of race, language, religion and origin'.[101]

95 Manuel Caballero, *Independencia: poema en prosa y verso* (Mexico, 1912), in Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes, caja 363.

96 Pike, *Hispanismo*, p. 195.

97 Mario Arango, Augusto Peinado, and Juan Santa María, *Comunicaciones y correos en la historia de Colombia y Antioquia* (Santafé de Bogotá, 1996), p. 286; and *Primer centenario de la independencia de Colombia*, Isaza and Marroquín (eds.), p. 151.

98 See Tenorio Trillo, '1910 Mexico City: Space and Nation in the City of the *Centenario*,' pp. 187–8; Pike, *Hispanismo*, p. 195; Isaza and Marroquín (eds.), *Primer centenario de la independencia de Colombia*; and Proposals of Comisión Pro-Centenario, 1906?, Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, Colección Dardo Rocha 3001.

99 The quote refers specifically to Venezuela. See Pike, *Hispanismo*, p. 195.

100 Isaza and Marroquín (eds.), *Primer centenario de la independencia de Colombia*, viii, pp. 29–33, 70–3, 123, 142, 151; and *Centenario de la independencia de la Provincia de Tunja* (Tunja, 1913), pp. 46, 51. See also Eduardo Talero, 'El cóndor nuevo,' *Chile en 1910*, Poirier (ed.), pp. 168–9.

101 'Homenaje a España,' *Chile en 1910*, Poirier (ed.), 453. Colombian speakers gloried in the continued cultural colonialism suggested by such affirmations: 'We have ceased to be subjects of the Phillips and the Ferdinands, but we have renounced neither our discipleship of the gospel, nor our vassalage to Cervantes and Jovellanos, to Rioja and Quintana'. (Rafael María Carrasquilla, 'Discurso,' in Isaza and Marroquín (eds.), *Primer centenario de la independencia de Colombia*.) See also Monseñor Miguel de Andrea, *Oración patriótica de acción de gracias por el éxito de las fiestas del centenario* (Buenos Aires, 1910).

The uniform acceptance of Spain accompanied varied attitudes towards the indigenous past. In Guatemala, the 1921 centenary speech by the noted historian Antonio Batres Jáuregui incorporated the pre-Columbian period into a grand sweep of history that merged the pre-conquest, colonial and independence periods into a single narrative (much as the five volume *México a través de los siglos* did in Mexico).[102] The Peruvian government erected a statue to Túpac Amaru II, the leader of the vast eighteenth-century indigenous uprising.[103] In 1910 Mexico, the historic parade that formed part of the capital's celebration of the centenary marked the three most important eras of Mexican history: conquest, colonial and independence, excluding the pre-Columbian. The conquest was depicted not by a bloody slaughter, but by the friendly meeting between Moctezuma and Cortés, with a cast of nearly 1,000 Indian warriors, priests, and virgins. The festivities also saw the inauguration of several displays at what is now the Museo Nacional de Antropología which gave pride of place to the piedra del sol – the so-called Aztec calendar stone – and other monumental pre-Columbian remains.[104] In Argentina, mention of the indigenous past was more muted, in keeping with the tendencies established by the Generation of 1837, whose views on Argentina's ancestry provided inspiration for the 1879 'conquista del desierto' in which the Pampa's indigenous inhabitants were crushed. The sumptuous centenary volumes produced by Manuel Chueco made virtually no mention of the current indigenous population, although Argentina itself was described as a nation formed by the union of Spanish conquistadors and Indian women.[105] Argentina, the offspring of this encounter, was a *criolla*, a beautiful Creole; as in

[102] Antonio Batres Jáuregui, *Discurso oficial*, 15 Sept. 1921 (Guatemala, 1921). Batres nonetheless viewed independence as a triumph of Guatemala's Spanish heritage. See Batres Jáuregui, *La América Central*, vol. 2, 604–5; and Antonio Batres Jáuregui, 'Guatemala,' *Chile en 1910*, Poirier (ed.), p. 260.

[103] Karen Sanders, *Nación y tradición. cinco discursos en torno a la nación peruana, 1885–1930* (Lima, 1997), p. 169. The 1921 Primer Congreso Indígena Tawantinsuyu received government support as part of the commemoration of the centenary, and the Quechua drama *Ollantay* was performed during Cuzco's celebrations (Marisol de la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos: The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919–1991* (Durham, 2000), pp. 88–92, and César Itier, 'Le Theatre moderne en Quechua a Cuzco (1885–1950). Ètude et Anthologie,' Thèse de doctorat de nouveau régime, Université de Provencve, Aix-Marseille I (1990), p. 63.

[104] Mauricio Tenorio Trillo, '1910 Mexico City: Space and Nation in the City of the *Centenario*,' pp. 184–6; and Enrique Florescano, *Etnia, estado y nación: Ensayo sobre las indentidades colectivas en México* (Mexico, 1996), p. 449. The Aztec Calendar stone began to appear regularly on commemorative medals from 1885, while school texts mentioned it as evidence for the high level of civilisation achieved by the Aztecs. See Frank Grove, *Medals of Mexico*, 3 vols (1970), vol. 3, nos. 231–2, 287, 418, 467; and Manuel Payno, *Compendio de historia de México para el uso de los establecimientos de instrucción pública* [1870], (Mexico, 1902), pp. 70–1. The official celebrations also included a trip to the ruins of Teotihuacán.

[105] Chueco, *La República Argentina en su primer centenario*, vol. 1, 5. Of the hundreds of photographs in these two sumptuous volumes, only one, on the antepenultimate page of the second volume, showed an 'Patagonian Indian,' labelled 'remains of a dying race'.

1885 Guatemala, the outcome of racial mixing was the creole, not the mestizo. The special centenary edition of *La Nación* agreed that the indigenous past had contributed 'a tiny drop of Quechua blood' to Argentine creole culture, which gave it a special *je-ne-sais-quoi* and added to its beauty. However, the paper noted, if Indian culture has not been completely destroyed by the conquest, as some mistakenly believed, it was nonetheless destined to be superseded, as the Indians themselves recognised: 'the innocent and ignorant Indians could admit that the conquistadors belonged to a superior race created to dominate them'.[106] Indians, past or present, figured in Bogotá's centenary celebrations only long enough for a speaker to declare that 'the indigenous race was annihilated in America'.[107]

Spanish America thus entered its second century of independence largely reconciled with its Spanish heritage. Even Mexico, often considered atypical for its inclusion of the pre-Columbian period into its *historia patria*, shared with the rest of Spanish America an increased interest in its own *hispanidad*. Spanish America's attitude towards pre-conquest history remained as complex as it had been in 1820. During the war of independence the emergent creole political elite had baptised itself the heir to the pre-Columbian past. In the early decades of the twentieth century the relationship between the governing elite and Indian population continued to be mediated through a tenuous form of metaphorical heritage. The aspects of pre-Columbian culture preserved in archaeological ruins and art were embraced as part of the national heritage from Mexico to Argentina, but that heritage was isolated from contemporary Indians. In becoming part of the national heritage, it lost its connection to contemporary Indians. Mexican independence-day speakers thus praised the ruins at Uxmal as revealing the 'high level of civilisation' achieved by pre-conquest peoples, while at the same time noting that all traces of this civilisation had vanished. The Maya of the Yucatán Peninsula were evidently not the heirs to Uxmal's legacy; that honour was reserved for the Creole state, as through the conquest the Indian 'lost his own civilisation, without gaining Europe's'.[108] The Maya remains at Palenque could similarly be labelled 'sacred

(vol. 2, 588). For the relationship between the Generation of 1837 and the conquest of the desert, see Shumway, *The Invention of Argentina*.

106 Roberto Payro, 'Criolla,' in *La Nación*, Buenos Aires, special centenary edition (25 May 1910), p. 171.

107 Ramón Gómez Cuéllar, 'Discurso,' *Primer centenario de la independencia de Colombia*, 195; and Martínez, 'Como representar a Colombia?,' pp. 325–30. Provincial celebrations occasionally mentioned pre-Columbian civilisations; see José Alejandro Ruiz, 'Excelsior,' *Centenario de la independencia de la Provincia de Tunja* (Tunja, 1913), p. 52.

108 Juan A. Mateos, *Discurso oficial pron. en el aniversario del 16 de set. de 1810* (Mexico, 1872), pp. 7–9; and *El Siglo XIX*, Mexico, 3 Feb. 1881. Or see Manuel de Olaguíbel and Julian Mantiel y Duarte, *Discurso pron. en la Alameda de México … y prosa leída … en el aniversario del 16 de set. de 1875* (Mexico, 1875), p. 7.

ruins' by the same Guatemalan independence-day orator who declared that Guatemala's Maya population rendered 'nugatory the consolidation of nationality'.[109] The existence of an archaeologically interesting indigenous past thus contributed, alongside Spanish America's Iberian heritage, to the formation of a national past whose distinctive contours were described in the independence-day celebrations studied here. But it would be wrong to see this uniquely as a process of increasing inclusion, or of cultural and historical *mestizaje*. While some scholars have argued that the reality of *mestizaje* has for centuries made the mestizo the quintessential Spanish American cultural hero, the speeches studied here suggest that the combination of Iberian and indigenous heritages typical of many forms of late nineteenth-century nationalism did not result in a new, mixed identity.[110] On the contrary, celebration of Spanish America's Hispanic heritage was heir to a conservative vision of history which dated civilisation from the conquest, thereby explicitly excluding the pre-Columbian past. Praise for the indigenous past as a source of national identity was usually premised on the rejection of the indigenous present, and the severing of any links between the Indian population and the pre-Columbian past. Or, to put it the other way, the *Patria* born of the encounter between the indigenous and Iberian pasts was not mestizo, but creole.

[109] José González Campo, *Discurso oficial*, 15 Sept. 1929 (Guatemala, 1929).

[110] For the mestizo as a cultural hero, see Gerald Martin, *Journeys Through the Labyrinth: Latin American Fiction in the Twentieth Century*, (London, 1989), chapter 1: 'Myths of the Mestizo Continent'. For a splendid discussion of the ways in which celebration of mestizaje could exclude contemporary Indians, see Jeffrey Gould, '*¡Vana Ilusión!*' The Highland Indians and the Myth of Nicaragua Mestiza, 1880–1925,' *Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 73:3 (1993); and Jeffrey Gould, 'Gender, Politics, and the Triumph of *Mestizaje* in Early Twentieth Century Nicaragua,' *Journal of Latin American Anthropology*, vol. 2:1 (1996).